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This paper attempts to document some of the sources of tension which exist at both the institutional and personal level when universities and school systems attempt to collaborate on common problems. The analysis contains three major selections: (1) sources of tension endemic in interorganizational collaboration (accepting increased possibilities of exposure, developing new arrangements and learning new habits, giving up old ways of doing things, and confronting differences which may cause misunderstanding or even resentment); (2) tensions deriving from fundamental differences between the goals of school systems and the goals of universities; and (3) tensions deriving from nonessential differences between the two (differences with regard to policymaking, the written word, daily activities, attitudes toward cooperation, expenditure of funds, research and development, personnel matters, personal commitment to organization, relative status, educational and political and social views). (JS)

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Sources of Tension in School-University Collaboration

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Introduction

There is a present sense of urgency in dealing with problems of educational change. Our educational systems, be they at the public school or university level, have been accused of failing to contribute significantly to innovation in an open society such as ours.

Since it is currently fashionable for universities and public school systems to work collaboratively to bring about change, there are questions which must be addressed immediately. How do we bring an accumulated knowledge of research and practice to bear upon the kind of educational change that is valued? How can an open society bring about change in our ways of working between institutions so that we do not overlook the basic values of the social groups being served or the institutions serving them? Whatever answers are found must be tempered by the tentativeness of our conclusions.

Dr. Ladd's paper is a necessary first step. It is an attempt to document some of the sources of tension which exist at both the institutional and the personal level when universities and school systems attempt to collaborate on common problems. Arranging and categorizing some of the sources of tension point up the complexities of the problems.

Dr. Ladd's incisive comments underline the conviction that the tempo of educational change will always be slower than the institutional sense of urgency to alter programs and procedures as new problems come to light. His paper suggests that different institutions will be capable of differing rates of change and that these are directly related to the built-in mechanisms for change within the institutions.

Today, an increasing number of social scientists are trying to conceptualize models for interinstitutional collaboration. They are evaluating strategies and forging new social inventions. In such studies, more and more refined answers are being sought. It is in this spirit of inquiry, in terms of what Reichenbach described as the "context of discovery," that this publication is being offered.

Warren D. Bachelis
Executive Director
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Atlanta, Georgia
February 11, 1969

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Sources of Tension in School-University Collaboration

The present essay is a preliminary exploration of the sources from which tensions commonly arise between people in public school systems and people in universities when their respective institutions collaborate. Some of what is said may apply also when the collaboration is between school systems and colleges, as distinguished from universities, or when it involves private rather than public schools.

The term "collaboration" is used to mean a substantially joint activity of two or more institutions. This is more than one institution's employment of personnel of the other, for example as consultants or part-time faculty members, or purchase of services from the other. Nor are we concerned with joint arrangements which are so tangential as to require little or no departure from the customary independence of either institution. In collaboration, as we use the term, the jointness embraces such significant areas as the spending of sizeable amounts of money, the setting of policies on matters of consequence, the making of curriculum decisions, and the recruiting and appointment of staff. In collaboration, in other words, the institutions share the responsibility for decision-making in certain significant areas. The sharing may take the form of a confederative relationship, in which each party retains the right of veto over decisions; less commonly it involves turning over a certain area of decision-making to joint control, most often for a specified length of time.

It is with the fascinating etiology of tensions in these types of school-university relationship that we are here concerned.

The thoughts advanced are to be regarded as hypotheses subject to confirmation or refutation. They have been induced from first-hand reports, written and oral, of persons who have been engaged in school-university collaborative undertakings of different sorts and with different goals at

various places in the United States, and from a small number of relevant papers and studies available in writing.[1] More systematic study of the subject is badly needed.

Until recently the commonest activities in which public school systems and universities have cooperated have been of four kinds:

1. Activities concerned with getting individual young people satisfactorily moved from school systems into colleges.
2. Their reciprocal: activities concerned with getting individuals satisfactorily moved from colleges into school systems—as beginning teachers.
3. Arrangements for observation and supervised student teaching on the part of college students preparing for teaching.
4. Activities aimed at upgrading the qualifications of teachers, notably various forms of in-service education offered partly or entirely by universities by arrangement with school systems.

Cooperative activities of such a kind can go forward without forcing either type of organization seriously to modify its major policies or practices. Or if modification has been necessary, e.g., in regard to the school's instituting a college preparatory curriculum, it was agreed upon and made long ago. None of the four, then, involves collaboration as it is defined here. And all proceed with relatively few major tensions, antagonisms, or explosions. Some of the reasons for this may become more apparent later.

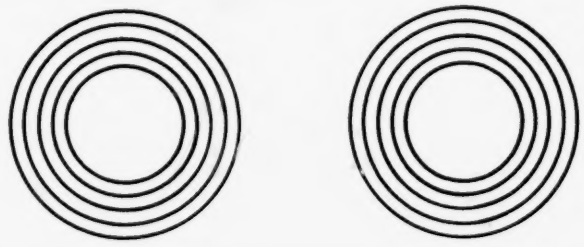
Today, though, we are witnessing the emergence of cooperative activities of a more substantial kind. The school boards of at least three of our major cities have invited institutions of higher learning to assist them in conducting public schools. A number of formal cooperative teacher education centers have been created.[2] And here and there a variety of collaborative research and development arrangements have been formed. For several years references to the analogy of the relationship between university medical

[1]The most direct treatment of the subject to date seems to be Robert H. Anderson's thoughtful article, "School-University Cooperation and the Lexington Project," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 34, No. 8 (April, 1961), pp. 382-386. A recent project is discussed with unusual insight and, it would appear, candor in J. Steele Gow, *Curriculum Development Through School and University Collaboration: The Pittsburgh Curriculum Continuity Demonstration, A Report of the Regional Commission on Educational Coordination and the Learning Research and Development Center* (Pittsburgh: the Center, no date).

[2]See the two reports of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Committee on Studies, Subcommittee on School-College Relationships in Teacher Education, edited by E. Brooks Smith *et al.*, *School-College Relationships in Teacher Education: Report of a National Survey of Cooperative Ventures,* and *Cooperative Structures in School-College Relationships for Teacher Education: Report No. Two* (Washington: the Association, 1964 and 1965 respectively).

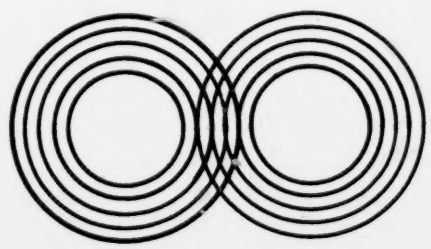
schools and teaching hospitals have been commonplace, and the belief is now widespread that schools and universities need to work together on such central activities as curriculum development; school improvement; the recruitment, preparation, development, and deployment of staff; budget-making; evaluation; development and testing of new materials and procedures; and research.[3] Such activities, however, require the organizations to become involved in one another's major policies and practices in quite an unaccustomed way. Wherever they have gone forward, new tensions of various kinds seem to have arisen.

Some years ago Kurt Lewin, in discussing relations between individuals, used the figure of sets of concentric circles:[4]



He used the outer rings to represent "regions" of the person, attitudes, habits, and the like, that are less "intimate, personal," and that can presumably be modified with relative ease and at little psychic cost. The inner circles and the core are, of course, the attitudes and habits which more nearly constitute the self. They are preserved and defended at any cost.

When individuals are in relation to one another, the regions of their persons overlap, though not necessarily, as the use of circles might seem to suggest, symmetrically:



A joint activity, then, influences, or requires change in, habits ranging from the quite marginal, e.g., where a person is to spend Tuesday afternoons, to

[3]See E. Brooks Smith *et al.*, eds., *Partnership in Teacher Education* (Washington: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1967), *passim.*

[4]See Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts: Selected Papers on Group Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 20, 24-25.

the very deep and personal, e.g., strongly-held convictions. And "personal friction occurs more easily if personal regions are touched."[5]

Like persons, institutions can be regarded as occupying life-spaces which come in layers. When two institutions collaborate, impingements may be only peripheral, or they may affect the most vital interests. There is little psychic cost when organizations become involved in drafting joint recommendations on subjects on which they agree; it is a major change where one institution is given veto power over a key personnel appointment within the other.

Although most of the school system-university collaboration in the United States today invades only the outer rings of the respective institutions, in the years just ahead many of us will be engaged in activities which involve our institutions in each other's inner rings. It seems inevitable, other things remaining constant, that these involvements will bring new threats and may arouse new tensions and even antagonisms.

What are the circumstances that bring about these tensions and determine their intensity? Let us look first at the sources of possible tension necessarily present in any interorganizational collaboration. Then let us look at the sources peculiarly inherent in the collaboration of school systems and universities by virtue of the differences in their fundamental purposes and character. Finally we shall attempt to identify the sources which are functions of certain relatively superficial, subcultural characteristics which the respective types of institution in America at the present happen to possess.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 25.

Sources of Tension Endemic in Interorganizational Collaboration

Many of the difficulties in school-university collaboration would appear to be endemic in any new interinstitutional collaboration. The same kinds of difficulties would presumably arise in collaborative undertakings in other sectors, for example, between military bodies or between industrial corporations which have formed consortia for special purposes.[6]

Any collaborative venture between two organizations is presumably a venture in which the people in the one organization and the people in the other propose to work together so that each group can achieve things it wants to achieve which by itself it could achieve either less satisfactorily or not at all. Thus for each group the venture means new help for the achieving of its objectives. It means that in a sense members of one group become the others' agents. For the new help which each group expects to get from the other, over and above any explicit quid pro quo it may have to pay, it pays in several important ways. These include accepting increased possibilities of exposure, developing new arrangements and learning new habits, giving up old ways of doing things, and confronting differences which may cause misunderstanding or even resentment.

Exposure. Except for persons who feel invulnerable to scrutiny, exposure always has its dangers and hence its related tensions. Persons in public school systems, however able, are always in one way or another vulnerable. University people are comparatively secure and are articulate critics. A shrewd observer of one collaborative project notes that the school teachers would like to perform well in front of the staff of the college. This seems to produce a feeling of being "on trial," of having to meet very high expectations.[7] It also tends to distort communications. Furthermore, universities are, as we shall see, necessarily dedicated to the gathering and spreading of information. So it is understandable that much of the tension between schools and universities revolves around the fear of exposure either in personal relationships or through the written word. It has been reported that one of the main reasons why one promising collaborative project was never consummated was that the university "wanted to retain

[6]General Eisenhower, for example, alludes briefly to "mutual irritations between American soldiers and the English" and, at the staff level, to "difference in national conceptions that struck at the very foundation of our basic plan." Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948), pp. 57-58 and 62-65.

[7]Jane Zahn, "Observations Concerning Some Problems and Events of a College and a School District Working Together on a Program of Teacher Education," unpublished paper, 1967, pp. 1-2.

more control over the publication of the results than the school system was willing to give them."[8]

New ways of doing things. The process of working out new ways of doing things and becoming used to them provides a number of sources of possible tension. There are joint decision-making procedures to be formulated. New colleagues have to be accepted, and new roles in relation to them have to be learned. New kinds of meetings have to be scheduled. New ways of recruiting, screening, and appointing personnel may have to be devised. While new perceptions and habits are still being formed, more things have to be recorded in writing, extra carbon copies have to be made and forwarded, new kinds of telephone calls have to be made, and, most importantly, new ways of interpreting other people's words and behavior have to be learned. These demands can be disturbing, and they may not entirely be met. Just the amount of new communication required can be tremendous. In connection with the research phase of one joint project it was reported that teachers and principals "fear the possible increased paper work and the demands for information encroaching on their tightly-rationed time."[9]

Sometimes the people involved simply overlook the need for new procedures. They may assume that the presence of good will on both sides will assure smooth working relationships. If members of one organization press for extensive explanations or for formal procedures, those in the other may begin to suspect a lack of commitment or trust or an admission of failure in the collaboration before it has started. Overly optimistic members of one organization may take it for granted that the shared desire to collaborate makes it superfluous to clear decisions of certain kinds. One school administrator who had devoted considerable effort to finding office space for a joint project and, when successful, had promptly had the project moved into the new space, appeared baffled and hurt when university officials

[8]Personal letter from a New Jersey school official, in possession of the writer. See also the true episode "We Want to See What He Wrote," Chapter 13 in Frank L. Steeves, *Issues in Student Teaching: A Casebook with Related Problems in Student Teaching* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1963), pp. 168-182.

[9]The director of one project has put it this way: "The alliance of such generically disparate corporations as a public-school district and a private university requires operational mechanisms and adaptations of authority structure which are essentially unique in the experience of educational institutions." Robert H. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 384. "An extraordinary amount and kind of communication" prevailed in the Lexington Project, Anderson reports (p. 386). Even between universities "an appalling amount of planning and managing" is required every time a college sends students to a sister institution in the next county. Morris Keeton, "Interinstitutional Cooperation—A Mixed Blessing," *Liberal Education,* Vol. 54, No. 1 (March, 1968), p. 58. Light is shed indirectly on school-university difficulties by Elmer D. West's useful summary of practical difficulties which arise when universities collaborate with one another: "Operational Problems That Arise between Cooperating Institutions," *ibid.*, pp. 73-79.

reproached him with not clearing the decision to make the move. If the members of one organization appear to hold back in regard to new collaborative routines, the members of the other may resent it, even question the good faith of their interest in collaborating, or, still worse, suspect the other group of "just using us."

On the other hand, some collaborators may try to build too much joint machinery. This is likely to produce the irritated reaction, "We can't get anything accomplished if you're not going to trust us but insist that we clear every little action we take," a statement reported from one project but made no doubt in dozens of others.

Finally, while new procedures are being refined, problems often arise out of the fact that the dealings between the organizations are directed through some one particular person or office in one of the organizations rather than through some other person or office or a diplomatic combination of them. One dean became irritated when school officials went to his president, who was far less concerned than he with certain of the implications for the university, and more than one teacher or principal has become irritated when he learned that without his knowledge a university has been working out plans with an administrative superior. Problems arose in one project because "most of the school administration" and apparently all of the teachers "were excluded from the development of the program. Negotiations were carried on, for the most part, with the Superintendent and one or two Board members in a semi-private fashion . . . The Superintendent called in his assistants only when the agreement had been reached." One result was that many of the school officials resented the project, and even normal supportive services were diminished.[10] Since lower-downs are usually more sensitive to the concerns of higher-ups than vice versa, an approach from an outside group is more likely to be reported up the ladder than down it. So tensions are more likely to be engendered when persons from one organization make their contact too high in the hierarchy of the other.

On the other hand, the higher approach is often more effective. And higher-ups may object to contacts not previously cleared through them. Thus another kind of tension is produced if the personnel of the contacting organization aim as low as the lower-downs in the contacted organization might prefer.[11]

[10]Paul Lauter, "The Short, Happy Life of the Adams Morgan Community School Project," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring, 1968), pp. 238-239.

[11]"Our entry into the schools was made more difficult by a factor that was also a source of strength, the fact that our coming into the school was perceived by the teachers as a decision already made by superintendents or principals, and the teachers had no alternative but to go along." Seymour B. Sarason *et al., Psychology in Community Settings: Clinical, Educational, Vocational, Social Aspects* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 65.

In either case, when there has not yet been much experience with collaboration, and appropriate understandings and procedures have not yet been developed, the lower-downs and higher-ups in the same organization easily forget to involve one another properly before going ahead with discussions or even agreements with an outside organization.

There has not yet been enough experience with school-university collaboration to teach us what are the proper new forms and procedures for making joint undertakings work. Hence fears, irritations, and resentments are almost inevitable. But even when more is known about effective ways of collaboration, any new undertaking will suffer while individuals learn the new habits they need—up to the point where these have become second nature.

Giving up of old ways. Closely bound up with the development of new procedures, and usually essential to it, is the abandonment or modification of old ways.

Sometimes this is merely a matter of the individuals' recognizing and availing themselves of new opportunities, which is not always easy. One project reports that persons on both sides brought with them old doubts and suspicions which they did not quickly discard, at least not until after some "arms-length sparring."[12]

But, beyond that, collaborative projects usually require overt redirection of some of the resources of the school system, and perhaps of both organizations, though many school-university projects do not provide for the university's shouldering any part of the burden. Contributions in the time of personnel, in space, and in the use of equipment require modifications of procedures, which are attended by strains within the organizations. Modifications in employment procedures, salary schedules, curriculums, hierarchical arrangements, and purchasing and accounting procedures usually cause still greater difficulty. Thus in joint research and development undertakings it may be found that "the purposes and design . . . may require change in the organization or operation of a school which teachers consider as unwarranted interference with their work."[13] Fear of change leads to tension of one kind, and change itself leads to tensions of other kinds. In one project new ideas brought into a school system by student teachers created such resentment as to lead to the institution of a parallel in-service training program to mollify persons who had felt overlooked.

Frequently those who become involved in collaboration learn too late how complex an equilibrium the other organization is, and how much time and effort will have to be expended before it has changed. Then this resistance to change in the other organization, though a normal human

[12]J. Steele Gow, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[13]Paul A. Perry, ed., *An Interim Report on the School and University Program for Research and Development 1957-1962* (Cambridge, Mass.: SUPRAD, 1962).

phenomenon, is likely to engender impatience and suspicion. This can be true even in little things. In one project supported by a sizable foundation grant both a university and a school system followed their customary separate public relations procedures in issuing public information about the joint project. Each press officer understandably played up his own institution's role and played down the collaborator's. Apparently no one had thought of the need to modify the standard procedure. At least one administrator who had worked hard to build the collaboration was irate at the behavior of the other organization—until he learned that the same thing had been done by his own.

When major changes take years, tensions can easily mount.

Misunderstandings. Persons in one institution may misunderstand the other institution's capabilities, purposes, organizational procedures, behavior, language, or other subcultural characteristics.

Misunderstandings about one another's resources and capabilities usually lead to disappointment at the least. University people are irritated when they find that principals or teachers lack certain skills they expected them to have, or that certain data is not available in the pupil personnel files. School people become frustrated by the discovery that university people have no answers to some of the most crucial school problems. When the university people have themselves believed, and have encouraged the school people to believe, that they did have such answers, the resentment is usually considerable. In any case, where hopes for the new resources to be gained from collaboration have been unrealistically high—as is usually the case—tensions arise as the true level of performance becomes evident.

Misunderstandings may arise about one another's purposes, too. Sometimes school personnel believe the aim of the university's education faculty is to solve the day-to-day practical problems besetting the public schools, or university people assume the high school faculty's aim is to develop intellectual competence in every student. When they find their respective expectations disappointed, they sometimes become irritated and reproachful. The divergence in purposes between schools and universities and its implications will be examined more fully below.

Misunderstandings occur between institutions because of differences in one another's organizational set-ups and ways of doing things. To some extent these reflect the differences in purposes we have already mentioned and differences in historical origins of the two types of institution. To some extent they are more casual, less fundamental. Many university people, even professors of education, lack knowledge of the structure and sociology of school systems. To a lesser extent, school people lack a similar knowledge of universities. Either way, unfamiliarity with the machinery of the collaborating organization probably leads to failure in getting the results expected. Then, when one finds that the frustration can be attributed to the fact that

"they don't do it the way we do," one easily gets the feeling that "they aren't very intelligent." One fellow's channels are another's red tape. A director of one large collaborative undertaking, describing the differences between administrative procedures in the two organizations, reported that there were people in both who said of their counterparts, "Considering the way they do business, I don't see how they can ever get anything done." Administrative procedures are one of several kinds of behavior which may cause such frustration or impatience as to lead to the suspicion that "they aren't really committed" or worse.[14] In more than one project, misunderstanding has aroused suspicions that the other organization was engaged in skullduggery. In the absence of information, half-truths and misinterpretations come to be accepted as facts, and charges seem to be substantiated. Obviously, when suspicions are revealed, tensions may worsen, though keeping suspicions concealed blocks communication and is probably more harmful than helpful.[15]

In one project a relatively small difference in use of language led to a minor crisis. A university administrator who had interviewed a candidate for a position reported that he liked the man and believed he would be a good person for the job. This was intended to mean that the man should be kept on the list of candidates. But it was interpreted by an assistant superintendent of schools, in good faith but quite mistakenly, as meaning that the university was casting its vote for the candidate's appointment. When the university later discovered that an offer had then been made to the man "without our agreement," some heated conversation took place before the cause of the difficulty was cleared up. In another project much more serious difficulties arose, so it is reported, from the fact that when

[14]"My recent experiences . . . ," writes Wilmer Cody, who served as assistant director of a three-way project in Atlanta, "convince me that working relationships between the school system and the two universities will have little lasting strength unless the policies and procedures for making decisions in each institution are clearly articulated." Letter to the author, July 21, 1966.

[15]". . . This study . . . began by recognizing and respecting the unique nature and interests of each institution. It accepted the possibility that these unique interests might generate disagreements. In the beginning we were quite concerned about conflict. But as time went on we found that out of difference new ideas were formulated and new relationships established. We learned that we gained strength as we accepted debate as both rational and inevitable, as we found that creative resolution of difference increased the confidence among the partners. However, such resolution did not always decrease tension, instead the new levels of interaction often suggested further needs which again generated discussion. Each time the conflict was faced squarely, we progressed. When we attempted to avoid disagreement we lost ground." Willard J. Congreve, "Institutional Collaboration to Improve Urban Public Education with Special Reference to the City of Chicago (Urban Education Developmental Project), Project No. 7-0346, Contract No. OEC-3-7-07036-2880," mimeo, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 34-35.

a memorandum of agreement was signed, people with very disparate views and interests agreed to certain words on a page without revealing, or perhaps recognizing, that they assigned various meanings to the words."[16] The collaborative Atlanta Education Improvement Project has been plagued by the variety of meanings different persons attached to the term "commitment."

The subcultural differences between universities and schools will be examined more closely below. But why in principle do subcultural differences between collaborating institutions cause tensions?

The explanation seems to be that entering into collaboration in a sense puts the people in the one institution at the mercy of those in the other. When we take such a step, in return for the new possibilities of help we put ourselves into a position where the achievement of our goal will henceforth hinge on the actions and perhaps also the attitudes of the other group: they acquire some control over our chances of success. This is obviously so if our goal is one which can be achieved only through collaboration. But it may be so even when we could get along by ourselves. For, expecting cooperation, we tend to count on it and become dependent on it, and thus we are dependent on those with whom we are cooperating. This fact is not altered, of course, by the fact that the other group is coming to be at our mercy. Even recognizing this is not certain to make us more secure.

It would seem that the magnitude of many of the tensions we have been discussing will be in some way a function of the amount of dependency we feel. This feeling will in turn be a function of the extent to which we have become ego-involved or committed to goals which we can achieve only with the right kind of assistance from the other group, and/or a function of the extent to which in our pursuit of other goals we have come to expect a level or kind of collaboration or help which for one reason or another may not be rendered in the way we think it should. To be at someone else's mercy easily breeds feelings of insecurity and suspicion, defensive behavior, and often expressions of hostility. And these reactions are the more probable to the extent that (1) one group pursues purposes which diverge from the other's and (2) habits, customs, attitudes, or language tend to cause misunderstanding or misinterpretation of what they say, or are misleading as to what one can count on their doing.

As has been suggested above, it is widely believed that mutual goodwill and personal acquaintance and liking across group lines will tend to forestall misunderstanding and feelings of insecurity or hostility. This may well be the case. "Good will did keep the static to a low rumble," it is reported from one project. But no amount of goodwill can forestall misunderstandings and fears entirely. Indeed, when purposes diverge or misinterpretations occur, personal liking may actually increase tensions by injecting into the

[16]Paul Lauter, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

relationship feelings of personal betrayal or feelings of guilt about not doing what friendliness by itself would require.

Only knowledge and understanding can engender correct expectations. Only if the agent is understood well enough so that his every action and expression are interpreted correctly, and it is known precisely what he could be counted on to do or not do, can he be trusted with complete confidence. Such a secure state of affairs, one must assume, will never be entirely achieved. However useful and essential collaboration between organizations may be, and however much goodwill there may be on both sides, it inescapably entails some dependency and insecurity for each group and some emotional tensions and problems between them. And, to add the obvious, the tensions will be greater if the collaboration is entered into hurriedly or under pressure, as it nowadays very often is. Learning the salient and subtle characteristics of another institution takes time and, more often than not, study of written materials. If this investment is not made, misunderstandings are inevitable.

What we have said implies that the potential for tensions is a function of one major condition:

> 1. The extent of dependence which each organization comes to have on the other, a condition which in turn will be a function of the extent to which the respective organizations extend their cooperation to activities which either of them by itself could not conduct, and/or commit themselves deeply or irrevocably to the collaboration, so that withdrawal from the arrangement is difficult or impossible.

And the extent to which this potential is converted into actual tensions will be a function of two secondary conditions:

> 2. The extent to which the purposes of the organizations diverge or conflict, rather than being neutral toward or contributory to one another.
>
> 3. The extent to which the persons in the two organizations fall short of complete understanding of one another's cultures or subcultures, language, habits, and so on.

It is interesting to consider, by way of a brief aside, whether it is not largely by avoiding these three conditions that up to now the cooperation of school systems and universities has been kept fairly peaceful.

Thus, first, by undertaking collaborative activities mostly aimed at goals which either could have accomplished without the other, they have avoided becoming mutually dependent. A university not having a campus school could not, to be sure, provide student teaching without the cooperation of a school system, but the cooperation of any given school system has not usually been necessary. (The situation in a major city like New

York City would provide an interesting counter-instance. In that case it may be that the organization with which the university collaborates and on which it depends is not really the city system but a segment of it, the collaboration of that particular one not being essential.) Also, universities and school systems have not often committed themselves to collaborative projects deeply or irrevocably.

Second, when significant collaboration has taken place, most often it has been between school systems and those segments of the universities with which they most nearly have common goals, namely the segments of their education faculties especially interested in the improvement of school teaching and administration. (It is much rarer for the subject matter faculties of the universities or even the educational psychologists and philosophers to collaborate significantly with their public school brethren—or vice versa.)

Third, and for the same reason, when significant collaboration has taken place, it has usually involved only those on the two sides who were rather similar in their habits, customs, attitudes, and language, and were able to understand one another reasonably well. Science education specialists or science professors interested in science teaching—as distinct from research—have worked smoothly with public school science education personnel. And, most strikingly, professors of curriculum or school administration, whose habits and attitudes are inclined to resemble those of public school people, have worked fairly smoothly with them. In connection with this example we might recall Mr. Conant's frequent suggestions that professors of education are more like public school people than like their colleagues in other departments on their own campuses, and that they identify themselves more closely with the public education establishment than with the university establishment.[17]

If the assumption is correct that in the future schools and universities can no longer stop short of mutual dependency, the first condition cannot be avoided. Thus we can expect the amount of tension to hinge on the degree to which the second and third conditions are present, i.e., the extent to which the organizations have divergent or incompatible purposes and the extent to which their members lack mutual understanding. We shall now, therefore, examine the respective goals of school systems and universities, asking under what conditions and to what extent they can be the same or mutually compatible. Then we shall look at the extent of difference between the subcultures of the two types of organization as they exist today and thus the possibilities for misunderstanding. It is to these two undertakings that the rest of our discussion will be devoted.

[17]James B. Conant, *The Education of American Teachers* (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1963).

Tensions Deriving from Fundamental Differences Between the Goals of School Systems and the Goals of Universities

The title of this section is intended not to posit a Platonist view of either type of institution, but to suggest what is here taken as an assumption, namely that there are differences between the respective purposes our social system expects them to serve, and that these differences are reflected in different characteristics which the respective institutions have developed. (With characteristics which are more nearly accidents of time and place and hence more readily altered, we shall deal in the concluding section.)

To the man in the street it might seem fair to say that school systems and universities share a common purpose, the education of the young. This view, indeed, is often the view of the man in the public school classroom or office as well. It is reflected in the appeal often heard from public school people for professors to give up identifying themselves as "chemists" or "historians" and instead call themselves "teachers." And, it is sometimes added, to join the public school teachers' professional organization.

The notion that the two types of institution have the same purpose is true only in part. To phrase this purpose as that of bringing together learning and learners points to the decisive difference. The public school system is expected to start out with *learners,* potential or immature, and take them as far as it can along the road of learning. The university is expected to start out with *learning,* and to share this learning so far as possible with would-be learners.

The public school system is required by the law of the land to accept and keep essentially all comers, regardless of how unwilling or unable they may be to learn what it teaches. It is assigned the job of doing what it can to introduce these clients to learning. It is par excellence the carrier of the public responsibility for the learning of the immature.

A university, on the other hand, is traditionally a center of learning, to which would-be learners are admitted only on the learning's terms. The learning is not so much tailored to the learner, as the learner is adapted to the learning. The learner is mature and comes voluntarily. He is there, generally speaking, at the sufferance of the standards of scholarship. Even where legislatures have tried to impose unselected student bodies upon state universities, the latter inevitably thwart this intent and preserve a degree of selectivity.

Two hypothetical situations may illustrate the difference. The clientele of a high school needs physics, and the school is expected to offer the subject; if there is no qualified teacher at hand, the school system, adjusting to the learner's need, offers the course under the least unqualified teacher it can

find. A university, in contrast, is expected to be a complete community of scholars; it blithely employs a professor of Sanskrit even if no student is interested in studying it. School systems tend to provide whatever instruction they believe the learner most urgently needs, paying at best secondary attention to the question how intellectual or academic that instruction may be. Universities tend to restrict their instruction to the general or theoretical, and to shy away from the teaching of skills or other practical matters, however urgently the learner may need them. This difference is widely overlooked, and, because it is, can lead, when the institutions try to collaborate, to mutual misunderstanding and even a degree of mutual rejection.

The matter is epitomized in disagreements and resentments arising over the issue of academic credit. To the public school system academic credit often means at most an assurance that the learner has learned substantially more about the subject than he knew before. Indeed there is a respectable body of opinion which holds that it need not even mean that. Certainly there is no problem from that point of view about attaching academic credit to worth while orientation or workshop sessions. To the university, however, academic credit more often means that the learner has mastered a predetermined chunk of systematic, theoretical learning—irrespective of what he knew or did not know before, or of his effort or worth. So, in regard to in-service programs, public school people sometimes say, "We have a lot of teachers who need to learn more about such-and-such: the university should offer a course in it—for academic credit." The university people often reply, "We don't think that what your people are asking for would be at a level of abstraction high enough to justify its carrying credit." The university people may appear to the public school people to be intellectual snobs, uninterested in promoting learning on the part of teachers, while the public school people may appear to the university people to have no standards, and to be trying to subvert theirs.

Even when the university explicitly launches an attack on a pressing educational problem, such as that of the ghetto school, its natural disposition is to concentrate its training on prospective leaders, on educating them in a broad, well-informed, intellectual approach to the problems, an approach whose results are likely to be long-range. Public school people, however, have no choice but to make decisions about the messy, ill-defined, present situation, decisions which as yet no scholarly argument can justify. As one assistant superintendent put it, the train keeps on moving and will not stop for the joint undertaking.

Over and beyond instruction, the universities' commitment to learning for its own sake leads them to devote a large part of their resources to pure and basic research. The educated public expects the universities to be the major centers of basic research, and university faculties could not imagine a university in which such research was not paid at least lip-service. School

systems, though increasingly active in applied research, are not committed to pure research and perhaps never should be.[18]

The university's commitment to research seems to cause greater and more persistent difficulties, even, than the differences of approach to instruction, judging from the reports of many persons, including Harriet Feinberg of Harvard[19] and Alfred Smith of Oregon,[20] who have studied two of the research and development centers.

In any collaborative relationship, so the university's ultimate purpose would suggest, university people can be expected to want to "do research on" the behavior of public school people or their pupils. Assuming that fact-finding and theory-building by themselves are innocuous enough, why should this process give rise to concern? Why is it sometimes true, as William W. Wayson of Syracuse has written, that the "university['s] duty to search for truth and change . . . is anathema to the personnel in the city school system"?[21]

In collaborative activities there seem to be three kinds of difficulty related to the university's research orientation.

First, as Wayson's phrasing indicates, the university may go beyond the search for truth and take it upon itself to change the schools.[22] And while some changes may overcome school problems in ways pleasing to school people and may be welcomed, a change-minded university can use what it learns in the course of its research to create pressure on school people for changes they do not wish to make.

Second, the school people may have hope that research will be done which will solve their most pressing problems, and they may resent the university's preference for studying questions which, however helpful in theory-building, hold forth no promise of immediate help to the schools.[23] Their objections will be stronger to the degree that they are asked to pay

[18]See E. Brooks Smith, "State Responsibility in Student Teaching," paper presented at meeting of Joint Conference of the Michigan Association for Student Teaching and the Secondary School Council, East Lansing, Michigan, March 23, 1966.

[19]Harriet Feinberg, Perspectives on the R&D Center," unpublished paper, mimeo, 1966. (An abridged version of this paper is included in E. Brooks Smith *et al.*, eds., *Partnership in Teacher Education, op. cit.*, pp. 120-132).

[20]Alfred G. Smith, *Communication and Status: The Dynamics of a Research Center,* (Eugene: The University of Oregon, 1966).

[21]W. W. Wayson, "The University's Relation to the Urban School District," unpublished paper, 1966.

[22]"A university must be held accountable for the quality of education in the school system in its geographic home . . . There can be no great university who neglects its obligation and is not constantly striving for the improvement of the total educational enterprise serving its city." Wayson, *op. cit.*, p. 3. (Emphasis omitted.) The author goes on to explain how he believes this obligation should and should not be discharged.

[23]See Feinberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

a price for the university's research activity, namely the difficulties which result from the kind of questions it raises or from simple interferences with school routine, a subject touched on above. Needless to say, such fears are justified by past history.

Third, the school system may be afraid of exposure, a subject dealt with in general terms in the preceding section. While the school system is vulnerable to capricious public pressure, the researcher is obligated to publish his findings and conclusions without fear or favor. These circumstances can combine to produce great difficulties for school people—though this probably happens less often than it is feared. Nor is the tension always entirely in the school system. From one university person's paper on the subject one gets the feeling that people on the university side feared that the public school people might make the university give up one of its chief purposes as the price of their collaboration.[24]

Note that it is not the university's interest in research or even the "doing research on" public school situations per se that causes the difficulty, but rather several kinds of situations which may arise in relation to the research. In any case where there has been inadequate advance exploration of the problem and of possible accommodations between the expectations of the researcher and the expectations of the school system, tensions on one or both sides are likely.

Another interesting class of tensions stemming from the fundamental differences of purpose is brought about by the difference in the way in which persons in school systems and universities can claim to know and understand public elementary and secondary education.

Public school people work directly and actively on the problems of elementary and secondary education, while university people, notably members of education faculties, study about them. School people tend to believe that, because they alone are in it, they alone correctly understand public education. In the sense that they have developed sensitive intuitions about real situations and about forces and limitations often unfamiliar to university scholars, or not taken into account by them, they are right. So they naturally resent any sign on the part of university people of an ivory-tower, know-it-all mentality about schools or education. But university people, devoted to thorough unprejudiced study of education from the outside and in its broadest context, tend to believe that it is *they* who understand public education better. And they are right in the sense that their understanding of what goes on in schools is more systematic, scientific, historical, or sociological, and hence often more useful for predicting or for plotting strategy for change. So

[24]"Schools should not expect "universities to" compromise their obligation to search for greater and truer knowledge . . . in working out a desirable inter-organizational relationship." Wayson, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

university people in turn tend to get irritated at any sign of school people's self-assured insistence on having the only realistic or useful knowledge of the situation.

It can hardly be overemphasized that the special purpose and character of each group has given it a kind of knowledge which is for some purposes more, and for other purposes less useful than that of the other. Where this is not recognized, resentment almost inevitably arises.

All of the possible sources of tension which we have discussed in this section are related to the differences in the purposes of universities and school systems, and it seems reasonable to hypothesize that it is to misunderstanding of these differences and of their implications that the bulk of the tensions in collaborative undertakings can be attributed.

For one thing, although to the writer's knowledge no one has reported it, it seems likely that the attempt in collaborative undertakings to define and pursue "common purposes" may itself cause a good deal of trouble. Of course, individuals in the two organizations do have overwhelming numbers of common purposes. And there are often specific areas of overlap, of course, between the purposes of the organizations themselves. For example, it may happen that both a school system and a university wish to discover which of two approaches to teaching reading in a given setting is more effective, or wish to improve certain qualifications of a given group of teachers. But overlapping of purposes, so our analysis has suggested, is likely to be in areas that are peripheral to the organization rather than central. Furthermore some purposes of the organizations may be contradictory. A school system may wish its teachers to learn how to teach the AAAS science curriculum, while the university may wish them to think about possible inadequacies of the curriculum. Most of the purposes of the respective institutions, however, are neither common nor contradictory but neutral, compatible with one another, or even in a sense contributory to one another.

This suggests that a genuinely collaborative enterprise, e.g., one for which a special staff is employed, can have only limited purposes of its own, and that trouble is likely to arise if these are not restricted to purposes in the small area of overlap. It also suggests, however, great possibilities of collaboration in which each organization pursues its original, distinct purposes, with the collaboration's purpose being that of brokerage, allowing each to do so better than it could by itself. The writer would go further and propose that many of the tensions in joint projects stem from feelings of obligation to define common purposes where there are few or none. Certainly many tensions arise from the disappointed, unjustified expectations that come from misunderstandings as to where institutional purposes overlap, where they differ but are compatible, and where they are contradictory. It would be interesting to study the effects on tension level of a deliberate agreement on the part of collaborating organizations to avoid trying to

define common purposes but instead to define purposes in distinction from one another, while at the same time spelling out which decisions in each organization are to be made in a way which takes account of the wishes of the persons in the other.

Two further, rather fundamental differences between school systems and universities should also be mentioned, which are not directly related to their purposes: (1) the higher level of public demands and public pressure, legitimate and illegitimate, directed at public school systems,[25] and (2) closely related to it, the greater use of controls and centralized authority in school systems, as contrasted with the freedom in universities and, often, the democracy in policy matters. To a large extent these differences reflect the traditionally different political structures within which the two institutions function. (When compared in this respect with school systems, public and private universities seem very much alike.) To some extent also they reflect the fact that the public is inevitably more concerned about the education of its children than about that of its young adults.

In any case the way of life which seems in some measure to be inherent in public school systems often offends university people, striking them as compromised by political or non-intellectual considerations, while the style of universities often strikes public school people as unrealistic, irresponsible, and unpredictable. A school person who shows himself unwilling to argue publicly with his Board of Education may thereby offend his college professor colleague, while a college dean who says he cannot commit his faculty to a particular course of action may strike a public school administrator as a person unable or unwilling to do his job.

Again these practical problems seem to be functions of the degree of mutual misunderstanding.

Another continuing source of tension has been pointed out by Walter Williams of Fredonia: "The universities or colleges have been the producers, and the public schools the consumers of teachers. This difference has contributed toward tensions."[26]

Finally two other rather intriguing sources of minor tensions coming under this general heading have been noticed. There is always the possibility that the public school person, apart from his school role, has assumed or

[25]A report from California reflects an exceptional situation. In that state in recent years public pressure on higher education has been great. But the typical situation is that reported by Helen M. Branch of the Atlanta Public Schools, who writes as follows: "[A] factor to which I would attach importance . . . is the difference in 'pressures' on the two groups, muddying the waters of understanding between them. The general public often demonstrates the attitude of knowing all about public education—what should be taught and how it should be done. They generally ignore or stand in awe of the professors' 'ivory tower.'" Letter to the author, November 26, 1967.

[26]Letter to the author, October 31, 1967.

may assume the role of student at the university, and the status differences in the student-professor relationship may cause a lack of ease on the part of some persons involved in a collaborative undertaking between the organizations. One school system supervisor regards this as "a great contributing factor in major tensions." On the other hand, when the university person is off the job, he is a citizen, probably a voter and taxpayer, perhaps a parent, and perhaps a writer of letters to the editor. It may be hard for public school people to forget the leverage which those roles of the college person may give him with which to put them under pressure.

Tensions Deriving from Non-Essential Differences Between School Systems and Universities

Probably the most exasperating tensions, but those most capable of being overcome, are those that derive from the clash of divergent customs and attitudes which do not reflect essential or necessary differences between the respective types of institution but are characteristics they have taken on for other reasons.

Some divergent characteristics can hardly be anticipated. Problems developed, for instance, between one school system and a university which together created a position with the title "Executive Director" without anyone's knowing about the differences in meaning which the organizations customarily attached to that title. In one project it seemed as if the style preferred by one organization was to talk chiefly about next steps, trying to reach agreement on pragmatic courses of action, while the style of the other favored talking first about broad objectives, then about basic policies, and only then about action. This was a basic difference which caused some irritations, but it could hardly have been anticipated, because universities have different customs in this regard, and school systems do, too.

There are differences, though, which are more systematic: it is possible to generalize about characteristics commonly found in American universities and other characteristics commonly found in American school systems even to the point where one dean of a school of education has referred to "the different subcultures of the university and the public school system." The subcultural differences, especially if not recognized on both sides, are likely to produce a subculture clash. Jane Zahn of San Francisco State has called attention to the similarity between some of the problems of university and school people working together and those of American technological experts working with persons of other cultural backgrounds. As she has pointed out, a good deal of what the anthropologist George M. Foster has to say on the latter subject illuminates the tensions with which we are here concerned.

To the person suffering from cultural shock "everything seems to go wrong," and he becomes "increasingly outspoken about the shortcomings of the country he expected to like . . . It is obvious that the host country and its unpredictable inhabitants are to blame." "The malady . . . is caused in part by communication problems," Foster writes, "and in part by gnawing feelings of inadequacy which grow stronger and stronger as the specialist realizes he is not going to reach all of those technical goals he had marked out." He feels, too, that the contribution he came prepared to make is not appreciated. Typical criticisms of the host country are: "These people can't plan," "They have no manners," "They ought to be taught how to get things done in a hurry." These symptoms reflect a failure to understand the

customs of the country and to accept them "for what they are." For the professional a contributing cause is the fear that in this strange situation he may be unable to achieve the professional success which his self-esteem and his reputation require. Foster, incidentally, recommends that the technician draw upon the services of the anthropologist, so that he can develop as broad as possible an understanding of the customs he encounters, their interrelationships and their dynamics.[27]

Following is a tentative summary of the most widely found differences between customs and other non-essential characteristics prevalent in school systems and those in universities. It is offered as suggestive and incomplete. Obviously it fails to take account of the variability within each category. In the case of universities the writer has tried to characterize the more established ones upon which the new ones tend to look as models; in the case of school systems he has tried to generalize about the larger, urban ones. The list is based on one collector's efforts over two years. Though he has tried to keep it from reflecting his pro-university bias, it undoubtedly does so to some extent. In any case he invites readers to communicate to him information about differing findings or other relevant ones.

Differences with regard to policy-making

In universities the faculty is accustomed to making policy decisions.[28] This means extensive discussion of policy questions, a lot of prior checking with many people on actions of many types, and often collective drafting of documents. University faculty members get nervous when they see administrators making decisions rapidly. And administrators can ordinarily com-

In school systems administrators commonly make most major decisions, with varying amounts of consultation with others. Decision-making tends to be more centralized. This means rapid decision-making. School people tend to become nervous when decisions have to await the outcome of extensive deliberation or checking with various categories of persons,[29] or when discus-

[27]George M. Foster, *Traditional Cultures; and the Impact of Technological Change* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), especially chapters 9-11. Quotations are from pp. 187, 188, and 190.

[28]"A university . . . faculty tends . . . to be a collegial 'company of equals' who bear a good deal of corporate responsibility. The 'administration' is more a 'facilitating' agency responsible for financial resources, physical facilities, and largely for public relations." Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations II," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2 (September, 1956), p. 236.

[29]See Oregon State Department of Education, *The Oregon Program; A Design for the Improvement of Education; 1963-64 annual report* (Salem: the Department, 1964), p. 24.

mit an institution to a project only in the sense of agreeing to enable faculty members who want to become involved in it to do so.

University plans tend to be designed to provide considerable flexibility and latitude; universities choose general directions, seek funds which will give them freedom, and reject funds with too many strings attached. Thus university people tend to be confident that they will remain in control of a project and are not inclined to fear being pushed around.

sion is continued after agreement appears to have been reached. Most public school teachers lack experience and skill in policy-making.

Public schools are inclined to accept all moneys that become available and are thus more susceptible to direction-setting by whoever has the power of the purse. For this reason public school people are more sensitive about possible outside control and more jealous of their independence.

Differences with regard to the role of the written word

University people work naturally and easily with the written word: commonly they start a conversation by presenting a written summary of an idea. They draft, read, tear apart, and redraft plans, proposals, and policy statements with pleasure. Many of them can hardly think about a problem without writing or reading what someone else has written about it. They make much use of blackboards, even in their private offices. When agreements have been put in writing, university people tend to treat them with great seriousness. When problems arise they are inclined to put their views down in the form of memoranda. They tend to get frustrated by public school people's unwillingness to spend time on careful reading of memoranda and drafts.

Public school people typically communicate with one another mostly by the spoken word. Often they feel no need to put an important idea in writing. If they do write, it tends to be at a late stage and to indicate near-finality. They tend to get nervous when university people present them with a draft or statement early in a joint undertaking, or when disagreement has arisen. They are less accustomed to radical criticism of their own written products. Written materials dealing with complex issues, even materials they have helped to draft, often appear to them of little use and may receive from them only perfunctory attention.

University people tend to write formally and heavily. They some-

Public school people often write in a breezy style, using line draw-

times resent the informality of some school people's productions.

ings, and so on. They resent the heaviness and length of most university persons' products.

Differences with regard to daily activities

University faculty members have substantial control over the priorities on their time and over their own schedules. They can make themselves available for meetings and other activities during the morning and for a whole day or several days at a time. They have substantial vacations during parts of which, at least, they are expected to work on their own. They resent the limits within which they have to work in setting appointments and meeting times with public school people.

Public school people at all levels are expected to be at their posts during regular working hours. Teachers have little control over their day-to-day schedules. They are usually unavailable for collaborative activities during the morning hours.[30] Holidays are explicit and limited in number. Except for the highest administrators, public school personnel are not expected to work during vacations.

University faculty members do a good deal of their work in interaction with one another, in informal conversations, conferences, committees, and sometimes teams. They want and expect school teachers to be as ready as they are for professional activities in groups and are sometimes irritated to learn that this is not the case. They tend to enjoy sharp argument and disagreement, and they express disagreement freely, often inconsiderately, sometimes even rudely.

Public school teachers do most of their work alone. They are less accustomed to working in professional groups and less skilled in it. They sometimes feel overridden by university people when they work in joint committees. Perhaps because many of them have little professional companionship during the day, they are inclined to be courteous and considerate in meetings. They tend to avoid, and to be put off by, remarks which may seem to show disapproval or sharp disagreement.[31]

[30]But in one project joint planning took place during the afternoons; the teachers, being off-duty, were left out—to their considerable annoyance.

[31]Yale psychologists working in the New Haven schools were distressed to learn that, "It is not part of the traditions of the school setting for the staff to meet, present, and critically evaluate their different problems and the ways they handle them." Seymour B. Sarason, *op. cit.*, p. 54. The same group found their relationships with school people impeded by the absence of formal school channels for recognizing and approving the day-to-day accomplishments of teachers; this situation apparently led teachers to seek support and approval from university consultants, a situation which complicated the latter's role. See *ibid.*, p. 81.

Differences in attitudes toward cooperation

Universities have engaged in cooperative undertakings comparatively frequently but usually at little cost to their established ways of doing things. Thus, partly because they are unaware of the true cost of collaboration, university people tend to favor it in principle and to regard persons who do not favor it as uncooperative.

School systems have little experience in collaboration, and their experience with cooperation has been chiefly in helping colleges with teacher training. School people see more clearly the threat collaboration may pose to their established ways and tend to be fearful of losing their autonomy in collaborative ventures.[32] When they are courted by universities, they tend to fear that the university people wish to take over.

Differences with regard to expenditure of funds

University people have a tradition of liberal construction of missions, of service obligations, and of use of government and foundation funds. They tend to approve expenditures which are "in the spirit" of the original plan. Often they are more liberal about delegating authority to commit funds.

Public school people are more inclined to be concerned about value-for-dollar; they are more cautious about the justification of individual expenditures; and they usually reserve to relatively few persons the authority to approve expenditures of funds.[33]

Differences relating to research and development

Universities tend today to collect numbers of people whose preference

Public school staffs are largely composed of persons who are pri-

[32]Writing in a somewhat different connection, Havighurst notes a general resistance on the part of school systems to collaboration with other organizations, a resistance which, he says, has both sociological and ideological aspects. He points to "the established administrative principle that the school system should be protected from invasion by other social systems. This principle . . . tends to be interpreted to mean that the schools should control the administration of all services they perform—even the new and marginal ones . . . The result is that other social systems may see the schools as too aggressive and uncooperative." Robert J. Havighurst, "Big-City Education: A Cooperative Endeavor," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 48, No. 7 (March, 1967), p. 321.

[33]Differences of style in regard to policy-making and expenditures of funds may partly explain the project director's report, quoted above, that school people and university people wondered how anything could ever get accomplished in each others' organizations in view of the ways they did business.

for theoretical matters is so great that they are uninterested in down-to-earth realities. To borrow Lazarsfeld's distinction, university faculties tend to be more interested in "academically-induced research" than in "field-induced research," that is, they tend to start building new theory by examining the implications of existing theory rather than by examining real phenomena.[34] They tend to be reluctant to try to provide help with the solving of down-to-earth problems.

"University professors frequently place highest priority on the quickly executed, neatly packaged, and statistically manageable research problems."[35]

marily concerned with the solving of immediate practical problems. They are often inclined to doubt or deny the value of any help they might receive from a theoretician.

Those school people who are interested in basic research tend to be most concerned about large problems which are difficult to formulate scientifically and to study, and which require ambitious, sophisticated, expensive, long-term research designs.

Differences with regard to personnel matters

Universities make relatively few appointments and tend to pursue individuals who have been recommended. Routinely they screen many names thoroughly and at length. Many, before making an offer, will interview three to six candidates for a day or two each. Throughout the procedure they are trying to sell candidates on the positions as well as judging the candidates. They tend to regard any less thorough procedure as casual and ineffective.

School systems make many appointments. They commonly solicit and respond to applications and concentrate on judging between the individuals who want the position. They tend to take formal qualifications (e.g., degrees or certification) as prima facie evidence of competence. They are inclined to be impatient with any extensive collection of dossiers or interviewing, which to them appear fussy, burdensome, or expensive.

[34]See Feinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[35]Ernest L. Boyer, "School-University Cooperation: Implications for Educational Research," *California Journal of Educational Research,* Vol. 16, No. 1 (January, 1965), p. 25.

Universities usually promote individuals without greatly changing their duties, and, when new positions are created, they usually bring in new persons to fill them. In general, vacancies arise less frequently than in school systems, and filling them has less effect on the overall staffing picture. Positions can often be left unfilled for substantial periods of time or can be filled reasonably satisfactorily by graduate students. For all these reasons university people tend to move more slowly to fill positions and often delay for long periods of time before taking final action. They may misinterpret the tendency of school people to move rapidly in joint staffing as being intended to limit their freedom.

Promotion within school systems usually involves a change in duties. Thus there is a great deal of change in staff assignments. Usually, so far as possible, their appointments are made from within their own staffs, thus creating vacancies. Staffing is extremely tight, and one person's doubling in two positions is not usually practicable. Also, there are not usually well-qualified persons available who can fill in as temporary substitutes. So the selection of a person for a new assignment starts a chain reaction of vacancies which must be filled immediately. School people find it difficult or impossible to accommodate themselves to the leisurely pace of university staffing practices, and they may interpret it as showing a lack of commitment to collaboration or of concern for the school system's needs.

Universities pay relatively low salaries for highly qualified scholars and administrators. The discrepancies between salaries do not clearly reflect the nature of individuals' responsibilities.

Public school systems pay higher salaries for topflight personnel. Salaries are keyed to the nature of the duties, with administrators typically being paid more than teachers.

Universities have moderate numbers of non-instructional staff personnel, ranging from professionals through graduate assistants to typists.

Public school systems are usually almost devoid of staff persons (as distinguished from line persons). University people sometimes find it difficult to relate to the school system in the absence of an opposite number or of what they would regard as adequate staff work.

Differences with regard to personal commitment to the organization

In universities staff members tend to feel relatively little obligation to

In public school systems there is a tradition that the staff has an obli-

give up their independence for the sake of preserving or strengthening the institution; a professor's first loyalty is usually to the broader community of scholars in his field. University people are inclined to be independent in their dealings with their own institutions and with state and federal authorities.

gation to help preserve and strengthen the institution and the educational system in general. "Rocking the boat" is frowned upon and is relatively uncommon. Public criticism which may play into the hands of outside critics is taboo.

Differences with regard to relative statuses

In universities internal status tends to be non-linear and is often difficult for outsiders to gauge; it does not necessarily relate directly to rank, to salary, to nature of responsibility, or to whether there is a name on the door or a rug on the floor.[36] Status differences impede communication of information and views and affect decision-making somewhat less than in most organizations. Relationships between administrators and instructional staff tend to have an informal, give-and-take character, often a cordial one. (To some extent this is true even of relationships with students.) Pressures from "below" are not usually resented. University people are sometimes offended by the formality of role relationships in school systems.

In school systems role relationships tend to be hierarchical. Differences in status are clear and well-advertised and have a considerable limiting effect on communication of information and views.[37] Administrators tend to resent pressures from below. School people of various kinds are sometimes made uncomfortable by the absence of role clarity in universities.

In society at large university personnel in general are assigned com-

In society at large public school people are in general assigned mid-

[36]A striking exception is the typical university school of medicine.

[37]"We believe that the prevailing formal channels of communication which exist in most school districts do not encourage ideas for improvement to move upward from the teacher or to circulate freely within the organization." "Problems of Communication and Status in the Schools," pamphlet, Center for Coordinated Education, Santa Barbara, California, 1965, pp. 10-11.

fortably high socio-economic status; some may be outside the ordinary class system. Many of them are unaware of the constraining effect status differences have on their relationships with public school people. Some tend to fear building too close relationships with public school people.

dle-class status. Many of them feel somewhat insecure and even defensive in dealings with college professors, deans, and presidents.[38]

Differences in educational, political, and social views

University people tend to be more critical of the educational, political, and social status quo. They tend to be more optimistic about current egalitarian trends, and to favor more rapid change in all areas. Thus they tend to be more liberal than the general community. They tend to identify themselves with civil rights and other reform movements and to look to public education as a means of social reform.

Public school people tend to be representative of the middle-class community and to have moderate to conservative attitudes about proposals for educational, political, and social reform.

Each of these differences between the two subcultures is a difference which in the opinion of one observer or another has provided a point of friction between public school and university personnel. As has been suggested over and over again, in so far as they are not charted, understood, or anticipated, the frustrations they cause will be the more intense. The converse is equally true.

The purpose of the present paper is not just to present an anatomy of some of the causes of difficulty, but ultimately to provide a basis for more harmonious and fruitful collaboration. If the analysis here presented is correct, such a basis will be provided first and foremost through better understanding and the development of more realistic expectations about the pitfalls inescapable in any collaboration, those particularly related to the funda-

[38]However, one project reports finding that "equal status collaboration by school teachers and University professors is quite feasible." J. Steele Gow, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

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mental differences between school systems and universities, and those which are associated with subcultural differences.[39] Particularly as the latter type of difference is recognized and explored, each group may well find itself borrowing habits from the other. The process will be furthered to the extent that they exchange personnel with, or borrow personnel from, one another. Over the years this source of tension may tend to dry up entirely. Thus, granted the will to collaborate, the very situations that today precipitate tensions may well provide their cure.

[39]See the experience cited in Footnote 15.

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